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A
COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR
OF THE
INDO-GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

Da man sich selber nicht sieht
Doch manchen Blickt selbst sich an;

Wolke, Faust.

415
B891a
V. 4

reviews and from private letters of fellow-scholars,¹⁾ among whom I would specially name Messrs. Conway, Holthausen, Leskien, Leumann, Osthoff, and Rouse. More detailed additions which should bring the first parts of the work up to date, I am obliged to forego, since thanks to the rapid progress of our science, whole paragraphs and pages would have to be remodelled. Naturally enough I am now in a position to improve upon many of the views I formerly expressed, particularly in the Phonology (Vol. I) published six years ago. Some of these I have expressly corrected, some tacitly. The reader should therefore consult in each case the explanation which I have given latest.

LEIPZIG, July 2. 1892.

K. BRUGMANN.

1) Lith. *paik* ('I see') and the like forms are not misprints or oversights; see I § 28 p. 23. To avoid misunderstanding, I again call attention to the fact that while *for* (Gut. *aus*) denotes a regular phonetic conversion, *instead of* (Gut. *für*), denotes analogical substitution. Thus "*paläogree for paläogree*", but "*Ath. Ägypten* instead of *gr. Gr. *Ägypten-a*".

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LEIPZIG, July 2, 1892.

K. BRUGMANN.

1) *lith. gail* ('I can') and the like forms are not misprints or oversights; see I § 29 p. 29. To avoid misunderstanding, I again call attention to the fact that while *for* (Gen. *can*) denotes a regular phonetic connexion, *instead of* (Gen. *für*), denotes analogical substitution. Thus "*paliper* for *paliper*", but "*Alt. Adjern* instead of pr. Gr. **Adjern-a*".

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

The List of Additions and Corrections given in the concluding part of the German edition have been here put in their proper place in the text. Some few alterations have also been made, with Prof. Brugmann's sanction, by way of making clear what from his seriousness might have been misunderstood. A list of misprints is given, but I fear there must be others: I hope that these will be forgiven, in view of the exceeding difficulty of correcting proof with so many different diacritic marks.

It may be well to point out that the word "Reduplicator" has been used as equivalent to Reduplicating Syllable or Syllable of Reduplication; and that "Phrase" has been extended to apply to a short complete sentence which fuses into a single word, as *fort-iam, diddemi* (see page 444).

In this volume as before I have to thank Mr. Conway for valuable help.

The Indices are nearly ready, and it is hoped they may be published along with this volume, or at least with small delay thereafter.

CAMBRIDGE, July 17, 1894.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

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CHICHESTER, July 17. 1894.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

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CHELSEA, July 17. 1894.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

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Armen. *a-baren* O.Pers. *a-baram*, Gr. *i-papev*. 3rd sing. Skr. *d-da-dhāt d-dhāt* Armen. *a-d* Gr. *i-nīto* 1st pl. *i-thyare*, √*dhe-* 'place'. 3rd sing. Skr. *d-bodhat a-budzha a-bābuddhat* Gr. *i-voī-thre i-voīthre i-voīthra*, √*bhagdh-* 'awake, notice'. 3rd sing. Skr. *d-dījha a-dīkhat* Gr. *i-datar i-dīkhe*, √*deh-* 'show, point'. 3rd sing. Skr. *a-yau* Armen. *a-ku*, √*gam-* 'go, come'. 3rd sing. Armen. *a-tu* Gr. *i-dīgare*, √*derh-* 'see'.

All that is left of the augment outside of these three groups are a few obscure Germanic forms: Goth. *iddja* 'he went' = Skr. *a-gat* (I § 142 p. 127), A.S. 3rd pl. *sidan* = Goth. *iddjōdhan*, cp. §§ 587, 592, 886 Rom. But these are not free from doubt, because we find in Sanskrit epics the unaugmented form *iyā-t* as well as *a-gā-t* (with *ā-* instead of *y-* like *iy-t*, § 463). So *iddja* too may represent the unaugmented Idg. **ijē-t*.

In Greek, *i-* was often obscured by being contracted with the following vowel, after *s* or *f* which once began the root had dropped (cp. I § 105 p. 146, § 564 p. 421, § 808 pp. 455 f.); e. g. *siōiōv* for **i-ōiōv* from *Frōv* 'request', *siōv* for **i-ōiōv* from *īōv* 'weep', *siōv* 'I saw' for **i-ōiōv* (Hom. *siōv*, Lesb. *siōv*), *siōv* for **i-ōiōv* (an inscr. of Hermione has *siōv*) from *īōv* 'I work'. On *siōv* 'I was accustomed', orig. **i-af-ōiōv*, *siōv* 'I dragged', orig. **i-af-ōiōv*, compare I § 563. 7 p. 420, and the Author Gr. Gr.² § 13 p. 33. The aspirate of *siōv* *siōv* *siōv*, like that of *īōv* *īōv* pl. *siōv* (for *i-ōiōv* *i-ōiōv*, from *īōv* 'I send forth' for **af-ōiōv*) is doubtless due to the transference of the internal *h* (**i-af-ōiōv* etc.) to the beginning; so it was in *siōv* for **af-ōiōv* (Skr. *īōv*) and other words, see Keilshner, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXI 421.

In Greek, again, the augmented preterites of verbs which have lost their initial consonant are often treated like those of verbs that never had any (§ 460). This is commonest in later times. An example is Att. *siōv* instead of **i-ōiōv*, from *īōv* 'I live, dwell', following such forms as *siōv* (*siōv* 'I swell'; Armen. *siōv* 'I swell' O.H.G. *siōv* 'swell, absorb').

18 — 1894.

| Latin | Irish | Gothic | O.H.G. | Latv. | O.C.Sl. |
|--------------------|-------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------|---|
| | am | im | h-im | am-mi | jam-mi |
| de | at | ia (1890, 1) | (Ma Mar) | aat (1890, 1) | jeat |
| ē | ia | ia-i | ia-i | ia-i i i-i | O.Russ. ja-i O.Bulg. jeat |
| ae | ammi | ajiam | h-iam h-ia- mā | ame | je-mi -ap, Mod. Bulg. a-me, Serb. ja-me |
| ra | at-i | ajia | h-iat | ate | jeat |
| ī, Under. -am i | it | a-iat | a-iat | [at-i iat] | O.Russ. ayt, O.Bulg. ayt |
| | | ajia | | ia-ia | jeat |
| pl. -a-ia | | ajia | | ate | jeat |
| | | [a-iat] | | [ia-i iat] | jeat, jeat |
| | | | | | |
| a. de (P) | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | jeat-ia-ia |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | jeat-ia-ia |
| | | | | | jeat-ia-ia |

Expanded Type implies that the inclusion of any given form may be regarded as derived straight from that of the language.

2. Ind. pres. and imperf. (pres.) act. of Present Class X.

| | Fr. Idg. | Sanskrit | Arabic | Armenian | Greek |
|----------|---|-------------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|--|
| Sing. 1. | * <i>gē-mi</i> 'I blow' | <i>ad-mi</i> | <i>ad-mi</i> | <i>mayn-m</i> 'I remain' | <i>ἄγω</i> |
| 2. | * <i>gē-si</i> | <i>ad-si</i> | <i>ad-si</i> | <i>mayn-s</i> | <i>ἄγῃ</i> |
| 3. | * <i>gē-ti</i> | <i>ad-ti</i> | <i>ad-ti</i> | <i>mayn-p</i> | <i>ἄγῃ</i> |
| Plur. 1. | * <i>gē-mē(s)</i> (- <i>me(s)</i>) | <i>ad-mā-mā-si</i> / <i>ad-māhi</i> | <i>mayn-mā</i> | | Doc. <i>ἄγωμεν</i> , <i>ἄγῃμεν</i> |
| 2. | * <i>gē-sē</i> (- <i>the</i>) | <i>ad-thā</i> | | <i>mayn-th</i> | <i>ἄγετε</i> |
| 3. | * <i>gē-tē</i> | <i>ad-tē</i> | <i>ad-tē</i> | <i>mayn-n</i> | <i>ἄγου</i> |
| Decl. 1. | * <i>gē-gē(s)</i> (- <i>gē(s)</i>) | <i>ad-gā</i> | <i>ad-gāhi</i> | | [Doc. <i>ἄγεμεν</i> , <i>ἄγῃμεν</i>] |
| 2. | * <i>gē-tē</i> (- <i>thē</i>) | <i>ad-thā</i> | | | <i>ἄγετε</i> |
| 3. | * <i>gē</i> | <i>ad-tā</i> | | | <i>ἄγου</i> |
| Sing. 1. | * <i>(s)gē-m</i> | <i>d-gē-m</i> | <i>agm</i> | | <i>ἄγω</i> , <i>d-gē-m</i> |
| 2. | * <i>(s)gē-s</i> | <i>d-gē-s</i> | <i>ag-s</i> | | <i>ἄγῃ</i> , <i>d-gē-s</i> |
| 3. | * <i>(s)gē-t</i> | <i>d-gē-t</i> | <i>ag-t</i> | | <i>ἄγῃ</i> , <i>d-gē-t</i> |
| Plur. 1. | * <i>(s)gē-mē(m)</i> (- <i>mē(m)</i>) | <i>d-gē-mā</i> | <i>ag-mā</i> | | <i>ἄγωμεν</i> , <i>d-gē-mē</i> |
| 2. | * <i>(s)gē-tē</i> | <i>d-gē-tā</i> | <i>ag-tā</i> | | <i>ἄγετε</i> , <i>d-gē-tē</i> |
| 3. | * <i>(s)gē-ni</i> | <i>d-gē-n</i> | <i>ag-n</i> | | <i>ἄγου</i> , <i>d-gē-n</i> (<i>ἄγεμεν</i> , <i>d-gē-n</i>) |
| Decl. 1. | * <i>(s)gē-gē</i> (- <i>gē</i>) | <i>d-gē-gā</i> | | | [<i>ἄγεμεν</i> , <i>d-gē-gē</i>] |
| 2. | * <i>(s)gē-tē</i> (- <i>tē</i>) | <i>d-gē-tā</i> | | | <i>ἄγετε</i> , <i>d-gē-tē</i> [<i>ἄγετε</i> , <i>d-gē-tē</i>] |
| 3. | * <i>(s)gē-tā</i> | <i>d-gē-tā</i> | | | <i>ἄγου</i> , <i>d-gē-tā</i> [<i>ἄγεμεν</i> , <i>d-gē-tā</i>] |

— 3296.

| Latin | Irish | Gothic | O.H.G. | Latv. | O.C.Sl. |
|---------------|--------------|----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|--|
| | <i>em</i> | <i>im</i> | <i>h-im</i> | <i>em-mi</i> | <i>jam-mi</i> |
| | <i>et</i> | <i>is</i> (§ 990. 1) | <i>(hio hio)</i> | <i>eti</i> (§91. 1) | <i>jeti</i> |
| | <i>is</i> | <i>is-i</i> | <i>is-i</i> | <i>is-i-i is-i</i> | O.Slav. <i>jam-i</i> O.Bulg. <i>jam-i</i> |
| | <i>em-mi</i> | <i>iglam</i> | <i>h-irum h-irum-mi</i> | <i>em-mi</i> | <i>jam-mi -my</i> , Mod.Bulg. <i>em-mi</i> , Serb. <i>jam-mi</i> |
| | <i>em-i</i> | <i>iglu</i> | <i>h-irui</i> | <i>em-i</i> | <i>jam-i</i> |
| Ueber- m i | <i>it</i> | <i>is-ist</i> | <i>is-ist</i> | <i>[ist/ ist]</i> | O.Slav. <i>apli</i> , O.Bulg. <i>apli</i> |
| | | <i>iglu</i> | | <i>em-mi</i> | <i>jam-mi</i> |
| - ist-ist | | <i>iglu's</i> | | <i>em-mi</i> | <i>jam-mi</i> |
| | | <i>[em-mi]</i> | | <i>[is-i is-i]</i> | <i>jam-mi, jam-mi</i> |
| | | | | | |
| <i>is (7)</i> | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | <i>em-mi-ist</i> |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | <i>em-mi-ist</i> |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | <i>em-mi-ist</i> |

passed Type implies that the definition of any given form may be regarded as derived straight from that of the original.

I = 1044.

| Latin | Irish | Gothic | O.H.G. | Lith. | O.C.Sl. |
|--------------------|-------|---------------|----------------------|-------------|---|
| | am | im | h-im | ar-am | jar-am |
| i | ai | ia (§ 290. 1) | (hā hia) | ai (HLL. 1) | ja-i |
| | ia | ia-i | ia-i | ia-i | O.Russ. ja-i O.Bulg. ja-i |
| ai | aiam | aīam | h-āram h-āram- mā | ia-ai | ja-ai sup. Mod. Bulg. i-ai, Serb. ja-ai |
| ia] | ai-i | aīa] | h-ia | ia-ia | ja-ia |
| i. Unklar, s. i | ia | a-ia] | a-ia] | [ai-i ia] | O.Russ. aia, O.Bulg. aia] |
| | | aia] | | ia-ia | ja-ia |
| pl. ai-ia | | aīaia | | ia-ia | ja-ia |
| | | [a-ia] | | [ia-i ia-i] | ja-ia, ja-ia |
| | | | | | |
| ia (§) | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | ai-ai-ia |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | ai-ai-ia |
| | | | | | ai-ai-ia |

Open and Type implies that the inflection of any given form may be reported as derived straight from that of the language.

1. Optative pres. act.

| Latin | Irish | Gothic | O.H.G. |
|--------------------------------------|---|--|--|
| <i>u-ī, uolūt-i</i> | <i>ro uolūtān 'called', ro gād 'I begged'</i> | <i>hailahdī 'I called', edīi</i> | <i>hail 'I called', uoig</i> |
| <i>u-lēt, uolūt-lēt</i> | <i>ro u-lēn, ro gād</i> | <i>hail-lēt, uolūt</i> | <i>hailg, uolūt</i> |
| <i>u-ō, uolūt-ō</i> | <i>ro u-olūn, ro gād(hail-hādī, edīi</i> | | <i>hailg, uoig</i> |
| <i>u-lēn, uolūt-lēn</i> | <i>ro u-lēn-lēn, ro gād-lēn</i> | <i>hail-lēt-lēn, uolūt-lēn</i> | <i>hailg-lēn, uoig-lēn</i> (<i>uolūt</i>) |
| <i>u-lēt, uolūt-lēt</i> | <i>ro u-lēn-lēt, ro gād-lēt</i> | <i>hail-lēt-lēt, uolūt-lēt</i> | <i>hailg-lēt, uoig-lēt</i> |
| <i>u-lēn, uolūt-lēn</i> <i>e)</i> | <i>ro u-lēn-lēn, ro gād-lēn</i> | <i>hail-lēt-lēn, uolūt-lēn</i> <i>hail-lēt-lēn, uolūt-lēn</i> <i>[hail-lēt-lēn, uolūt-lēn]</i> | <i>hailg-lēn, uoig-lēn</i> |

| Latin | Irish | Gothic | O.H.G. | Isk. | O.C.B. |
|------------------------------|-------------|-------------------|------------------------|--|----------------------|
| <i>u-ī-ī</i> | <i>hail</i> | <i>hail</i> | <i>hail</i> | <i>u-ī-ī</i> <i>uolūt uolūt</i> <i>uolūt uolūt</i> | <i>uolūt (§ 548)</i> |
| <i>u-ī-ī</i> | | <i>hail-lēn</i> | | | |
| <i>u-ī-ī</i> <i>u-ī-ī</i> | <i>hail</i> | <i>hail-lē-ī</i> | <i>hail-lē [hail]</i> | <i>u-ī-ī, uolūt</i> | |
| <i>u-ī-ī</i> | | <i>hail-lēn</i> | | | |
| <i>u-ī-ī</i> | | <i>hail-lēn</i> | <i>2nd pl. hail-lē</i> | <i>u-ī-ī, uolūt</i> | |
| | | <i>[hail-lēn]</i> | | | |

| Greek | Gothic | Lat. | G.O.B. |
|-----------------------------|---|---------------------|-------------|
| 1) <i>παῖς</i> | —; <i>Q. Isai, Isaias, Goth. [Isaias]</i> | <i>infans(-is)</i> | |
| 2) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | —; <i>Isaias</i> | <i>sp. dentis()</i> | <i>Isai</i> |
| 3) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | —; <i>Isaias</i> | | |
| 4) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | —; <i>Isaias</i> | | |
| 5) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | —; <i>Isaias</i> | | |
| 6) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | —; <i>Isaias</i> | | |
| 7) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | —; <i>Isaias</i> | | |
| 8) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | —; <i>Isaias</i> | | |
| 9) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | —; <i>Isaias</i> | | |
| 10) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | —; <i>Isaias</i> | | |
| 11) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | —; <i>Isaias</i> | | |
| 12) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | —; <i>Isaias</i> | | |
| 13) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | —; <i>Isaias</i> | | |
| 14) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | —; <i>Isaias</i> | | |
| 15) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | —; <i>Isaias</i> | | |
| 16) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | —; <i>Isaias</i> | | |
| 17) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | —; <i>Isaias</i> | | |
| 18) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | —; <i>Isaias</i> | | |
| 19) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | —; <i>Isaias</i> | | |
| 20) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | —; <i>Isaias</i> | | |

| Greek | Latin | Irish |
|-----------------------------|---|---------------------------|
| 1) <i>παῖς</i> | | |
| 2) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | <i>sp. dentis, via, apud dentem, dentis</i> | <i>sp. dentis, dentis</i> |
| 3) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | <i>dentis, apud dentem — Ous, via, dentis</i> | <i>sp. dentis, dentis</i> |
| 4) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | | |
| 5) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | | |
| 6) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | <i>dentis, apud dentem — Ous, dentis</i> | <i>sp. dentis, dentis</i> |
| 7) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | | |
| 8) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | | |
| 9) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | | |
| 10) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | | |
| 11) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | | |
| 12) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | | |
| 13) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | | |
| 14) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | | |
| 15) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | | |
| 16) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | | |
| 17) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | | |
| 18) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | | |
| 19) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | | |
| 20) <i>παῖς</i> <i>παῖς</i> | | |

(4) O.C.Sl. *-do-*, so-called part. pres. active II, e. g. *nes-do* in *nesdi jeni* 'I have borne' (§ 903 p. 452). See § 1099.5.

(5) O.Pruna. *-mau-*, part. pres. passive: *mauhas poklonsisvanes* 'as the prayers are heard'. See § 1099.8.

(6) *-mo-*, part. pres. passive in Baltic and Slavic; also part. fut. passive in Baltic. Lith. *vėša-mo-s* O.C.Sl. *vero-mē* 'being carried', Lith. fut. *vėšė-mo-s*. Add the so-called Lith. part. pres. active II in *-da-mo-s*, as *siū-da-mo-s* 'burning', which is closely connected with the imperf. *-dama* (§ 908 p. 453) and must originally have been middle (deponent). Compare Ukr. *perenih-mu* 'precarious', II § 72.1 p. 148.

(7) *-ot-* *-ot-*, part. pres. and fut. active. Lith. *atėję* O.C.Sl. *very* 'valens', Lith. fut. dialectic *atėis* for 'sevens', High-Lith. *atėis* (O.C.Sl. *byzēstje byzēstje* 'futurem, re-silient'). See § 1099.6.

(8) *-gus-*, part. perf. active. Lith. *užgūs* O.C.Sl. *užgū-s* 'having milked'. In Lith. also in the so-called part. imperf. act. in *-dags*, belonging to the indic. in *-dama* (§ 908 p. 453). See § 1099.7.

